

## Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /005 R

66011

DRAFTED BY:EB/OT/GCP:RLANDERS:JM

APPROVED BY:EB/OT/GCP:SAHMAD

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE

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FOLLOWING REPEAT MTN GENEVA 7511 ACTION SECSTATE, BRASILIA,  
EC BRUSSELS, KINSHASA DTD 27 SEP 76.

QTE: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE MTN GENEVA 7511

ACTION STR

KINSHASA FOR AMBASSADOR WILLIAM WALKER

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: ETRD MTN

SUBJECT: FRAMEWORK IMPROVEMENT GROUP

1. SUMMARY. EARLY REPORTS INDICATE EC WILL NOT SUP-  
PORT ADDITION OF SUPPLY ACCESS TO MANDATE OF MTN  
FRAMEWORK IMPROVEMENT GROUP AND PREFERS A GENERAL MAN-  
DATE WITH NO SPECIFIC PRIORITY TASKS OR, AS FALLBACK,  
MANDATE CONFINED TO MFN CLAUSE, RECIPROCITY, AND SAFE-  
GUARDS OTHER THAN ARTICLE XIX. 113 COMMITTEE APPARENTLY  
DID NOT ADDRESS QUESTION OF LINKING "GRADUATION" CON-  
CEPT WITH RECIPROCITY. EC MANDATE OFFERS POSSIBLE  
SCOPE FOR EC TO REACH QUICK AGREEMENT WITH BRAZIL  
EITHER BILATERALLY OR AT AN EARLY PLURILATERAL MEET-  
ING, IN EITHER EXTENT LEAVING US ESSENTIALLY ISOLATED  
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ON QUESTION OF ADDING SUPPLY ACCESS. MTN DEL URGENTLY

NEEDS GUIDANCE ON HOW WASHINGTON WANTS US TO PLAY THIS ISSUE IN CONTACTS HERE PRIOR TO OCT 12 SEVEN PLUS SEVEN. OUR PRESENT READING OF SITUATION IS WE FACE FAR TOO MUCH OPPOSITION TO EXPECT TO GET SUPPLY ACCESS ADDED AND CHANCES OF GETTING GRADUATION CONCEPT INCLUDED ARE PROBLEMATIC AT BEST. TWO BROAD OPTIONS OPEN TO US -- BOTH BAD ONES -- ARE EITHER TO BLOCK THE GROUP OR REVERSE OUR ENTIRE STRATEGY AND MOVE FOR OPEN-ENDED MANDATE. A THIRD POSSIBILITY MIGHT BE TO WORK FOR INCLUSION OF SUPPLY ACCESS IN A SECOND PRIORITY GROUP AND TRY TO COMBINE GRADUATION WITH RECIPROCITY. END SUMMARY.

2. AT NOON TODAY, FRENCH REP COLMANT GAVE US (AT HIS OWN INITIATIVE) A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF FRENCH POSITION AT 113 MEETING HE ATTENDED LAST FRIDAY. HE PROFESSED NOT TO KNOW WHAT POSITION EC SPOKESMAN WOULD TAKE AS RESULT OF 113 BUT COLMANT WANTED TO BE SURE WE HAD AN ACCURATE UNDERSTANDING OF WHERE FRANCE STOOD. FRANCE, HE SAID, WANTS MANDATE LIMITED TO SHORT FORM PUT FORWARD BY BRAZIL WITH NO SPECIFIC TOPICS IDENTIFIED. IF THIS NOT ATTAINABLE, FRANCE WANTS A MANDATE CONFINED TO BRAZILIAN VERSION OF MFN CLAUSE AND RECIPROCITY, AND SAFEGUARDS OTHER THAN ARTICLE XIX. FRANCE OPPOSES REFERENCES TO ARTICLE XII, DISPUTE SETTLEMENT, SURVEILLANCE, ARTICLE XXII AND XXIII AND FRANCE "CANNOT ACCEPT" ADDITION OF SUPPLY ACCESS. COLMANT SAID IT WAS POSSIBLE PARIS MIGHT BE PERSUADED TO SUPPORT ADDITION OF GRADUATION CONCEPT TO ITEM ON RECIPROCITY IN CONTEXT OF A PACKAGE CONFINED TO LIMITED NUMBER OF TOPICS.

3. TOWARD END OF DAY WE ASKED EC DEPUTY ABBOTT IF HE WAS AT LIBERTY TO GIVE US HIS UNDERSTANDING OF EC MANDATE FROM 113. ABBOTT SAID DISCUSSION WAS SOMEWHAT MORE DISORDERLY THAN NORMAL DUE TO CONFUSION AMONG THOSE PRESENT WHETHER BRAZILIAN OR U.S. TEXT WAS UNDER DISCUSSION BUT HIS PERSONAL APPRAISAL OF WHERE EC AS WHOLE NOW STANDS IS:

(A) FIRST PREFERENCE WOULD BE A FAIRLY SHORT TERMS OF REFERENCE WITH NO SPECIFIC LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TASKS ASSIGNED AT ALL;

(B) IF FOREGOING NOT ATTAINABLE, NEXT PREFERENCE WOULD BE TO CONFINE THE LISTED PRIORITY TOPICS TO THE FOLLOWING THREE ITEMS:

- (1) MFN
- (2) RECIPROCITY

(3) SAFEGUARDS OTHER THAN ARTICLE XIX

(C) WITH RESPECT TO THE LANGUAGE ON RECIPROCITY, ABBOTT IS UNSURE WHAT FORMULATION WOULD BE PREFERRED BY THE EC SINCE NEITHER THE BRAZILIANS NOR U.S. TEXTS WERE SPECIFICALLY ADDRESSSED IN 113; AND

(D) THE EC DOES NOT FAVOR INCLUSION OF SUPPLY ACCESS.

4. COMMENT: FOREGOING ACCOUNTS ARE BOTH VERY TROUBLE-SOME IN THAT THEY MAKE IT PRACTICALLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR US TO SECURE ADDITION OF SUPPLY ACCESS TO MANDATE. IT WOULD HAVE BEEN HARD ENOUGH TO PERSUADE CANADA AND AUSTRALIA TO ACQUIESCE EVEN WITH EC SUPPORT BUT WITHOUT IT, WE RATE CHANCES AS VIRTUALLY NIL. IN ADDITION, IT DOES NOT LOOK LIKE WE WILL GET VIGOROUS SUPPORT (AND PERHAPS NONE) FROM EC FOR GRADUATION CONCEPT. WE DO NOT KNOW IF EC IS IN BILATERAL CONTACT WITH BRAZILIANS ABOUT MANDATE YET BUT WHEN IT OCCURS, IT SHOULD BE RELATIVELY EASY FOR THEM TO REACH AGREEMENT ON A STRIPPED DOWN MANDATE, THUS VIRTUALLY ISOLATING U.S. WE NEED PROMPT GUIDANCE HOW TO PLAY THIS MATTER BETWEEN NOW AND OCT 12 SEVEN PLUS SEVEN MEETING. SUMMARY PARA ABOVE CONTAINS SEVERAL OPTIONS FOR WASHINGTON CONSIDERATION. FIRST TWO ARE POLITICALLY COSTLY: NUMBER 1 WOULD HAVE US TAKE THE HEAT FOR BLOCKING SOMETHING BRAZIL AND OTHER LDCESS PROFESS TO WANT; NUMBER 2 MAY LOOK LESS OBJECTIONABLE IN SHORT RUN (WE APPEAR TO ACQUIESCE) BUT MAY CREATE EVEN MORE DIFFICULTIES IN FUTURE IF, AFTER GROUP IS ESTABLISHED, WE ARE COMPELLED TO BLOCK UNBALANCED FORMULATIONS BY INSISTING ON GETTING SOME REFORMS WE ARE MANDATED TO SECURE, ALL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OF WHICH WE COULD CLAIM ARE FAIR GAME BECAUSE MANDATE IS OPEN ENDED. OPTION NUMBER 2 IS, IN ESSENCE, A SPOILING TACTIC. OPTION 3 MAY BE DOABLE (ALTHOUGH CANADA LIKELY TO RESIST STRONGLY) BUT IT RUNS RISK OF TIME RUNNING OUT BEFORE MTN CAN EVEN ADDRESS SUPPLY ACCESS AND, MEANWHILE, TOPIC IS ASSIGNED TO A GROUP BOGGED DOWN ON OTHER MATTERS.

5. AMB. WALKER MAY WISH TO COMMENT FROM KINSHASA. CULBERT  
UNQTE:KISSINGER

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** POLICIES, TRADE AGREEMENTS, NEGOTIATIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 05 OCT 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** morefirh  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976STATE247104  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** EB/OT/GCP:RLANDERS:JM  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760374-0643  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19761081/aaaacrxf.tel  
**Line Count:** 165  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ORIGIN EB  
**Original Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** morefirh  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 02 APR 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <02 APR 2004 by ElyME>; APPROVED <02 APR 2004 by morefirh>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** FRAMEWORK IMPROVEMENT GROUP  
**TAGS:** ETRD, JA, MTN  
**To:** TOKYO OTTAWA  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006